THE BLACK DWARF.

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Satire's my weapon; but I'm too discreet
To run a-muck and tilt at all I meet.

I only wear it in a land of Hectors,
Thieves, Supercargoes, Sharpers, and Directors. POPE.

LETTERS OF THE BLACK DWARF.

THE BLACK DWARF's FIRST ADDRESS TO THE PRINCE REGENT;

On the duties of Kings, and the Rights of the People; with a Postscript on the Insurrection at Bartholomew Fair: and the abandonment of the Ministerial Charges against the Manchester Blanketeers.

..... "Subjects grown too wise,
"Instruct a monarch where his error lies."
POPE.

POLISHED periods, and awful truths have been often wasted upon monarchs. *You*, however, *are not quite a king*, and may listen to the voice of reason, even uttered by a Dwarf, if uttered loud enough to penetrate the forest of bayonets with which your ministers seclude you from the public view. You do not treat *the nation* with much ceremony, and I am willing to follow an example of *sincerity* so important, given by an authority so high as that of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the British empire—the most polished of all men, and the most accomplished of all princes. You may remember, if your present habits have not effaced the transactions of your past life, that you were once a *brother reformer*; that *you* were the *opponent* of the *Pitt system*: that you were *personally insulted* by that heaven-born minister, and that you were the *chosen friend*, and bottle companion of the "man of the people," Mr. Fox. With this introduction to your good graces, I might have expected a favourable ear, had I written when a *second Prince of Wales* was the *Champion of Reform*. Perhaps my present attachment to that *cause* will prejudice me as much in your opinion, as your *desertion of it*, has had the effect of changing the high eulogium which posterity was preparing for you. However, to *perform a duty* is imperative, whether good or evil be the result: and it is the duty of every writer to reverberate the complaints of the people in the temples of those who *are set* in authority over them. I need not inform you that you hold *no authority in your own right, nor in the right of your father*. You have publicly confessed this truth, in the declaration that "*all authority is only held in trust for the benefit of the people.*" If it be held *for them*, it can only be held *lawfully, from them*; and the conclusion from your own declaration is, "*that you are only the first servant of the people;*" responsible, like the meanest of the populace to the laws of the country; and bound to *respect*, and to *defend* them, to the extent of your power, whether assailed by *an administration*, that would sweep them at once from the statute-book or broken by some *petty rogue* who would violate a single law for some private advantage. How comes it then, Sir, that while *your servants* attack the constitution with a relentless ferocity, that you stand by apparently unconcerned—that you sanction proceedings which in other times would have raised the standard of resistance from the centre to the extremities of the island, and perhaps have buried all that is valuable, in the attempt to revenge an outrage which *no necessity* can justify---which there are *now* no circumstances to palliate? Are you deceived, Sir! and betrayed by those who *profess* to serve you? Are you unacquainted with the misery of those *whom you call your people?* If they are *yours*, they deserve, Sir, more of your *personal* attention. Are they *your's* only to supply you with the splendid trappings of royalty? *Your's*, only to minister to the profusion of a court? *Your's*, only to fight the battles of *social order*, and not to participate in the reward? *Your's* only to furnish the means of oppression to your ministry? Or *your's* only to be pillaged with impunity, and punished without remorse, for complaints which *they should*

have had no reason to make? If they are *your people*, let them attract your whole regard. They are fully deserving of it. Look beyond the *little band* that intercepts and absorbs the rays of your goodness, which ought to shine universally upon all that you claim as *your's*. The sun of heaven lightens upon all the creatures of its maker. The eye of the monarch should be equally upon all his people. Shall a ruler dare to ask for *more people than he can love?* for *more subjects than he can protect?* Shall he dare to ask for *one order of subjects to be oppressed*, and another order *to oppress them*:—for one race to *toil without eating*, and another race to *eat without toiling?* Shall he ask for a *large proportion* of *his* people to labour without an adequate reward, or wander ragged, cold, and hungry, through his empire, that a *small proportion* may emulate in luxurious and lacivious indolence the state of eastern monarchs, and roll in splendid equipages through a land, the blessings of which they exclusively monopolize—the laws of which they were only born to outrage and disgrace? Would such wishes be worthy of a prince? Or would an endeavour to produce *such a state of things* be an evidence of his qualifications for government?

The man who could indulge such ideas, if he must wear a crown, should be only the monarch of lunatics:—and if any one, *accidentally* called to rule in such a disordered state of society, should seek to continue and perpetuate it, he would distance in folly the authors of the evils which he should take the speediest means to redress. Has it ever occurred to you, Sir, that you are now only the nominal monarch of the people; and that as far as real *power* is concerned, you are as *impotent* as the meanest wretch who must contribute his farthing towards the maintenance of that splendour in which you so very magnificently indulge? Has it ever occurred to you, that while you are nominally governing in the name and under the title of George the Third, that you only hold your authority *by the grace of the seat-sellers* in the House of Commons? and that the men who have converted the house of popular assembly, into a den of ——— have also shorn the crown of its brightest beams, and reduced the sceptre of the monarch into the plaything of a grown up child? Have you *never* felt the fetters with which a *minister* with the borough-mongers at his back, can often actually, as well as virtually, bind the will and wishes of the nominal occupant of the British throne? Have you never felt a desire to break those shackles which once prevented your dismissal of men who ought never to have been Ministers, when the voice of an expectant nation foudly hailed your entrance into power as the certain omen of renovated happiness? If you have ever felt those chains, and lamented your inability to break them, what renders them at this moment less shameful to wear? What has reconciled the *friend of Fox* to the *disciples of Pitt?* What has occurred to render the principles of Stuart (whether King Stuart, or Sir Robert Stewart) less hateful to a scion of the House of Brunswick? The nation cannot solve the enigma. That the interest of the borough-holders should be opposed to the interests of the people is easily understood; but what can sever the interest of the King of England from the interest of his people? Does he not owe his crown to his *people*? Are not the *people* the ultimate judges of *his* government, and of *their* obedience? You, Sir, have declared that "*power is only delegated for the good of the people!*" And who, but the people are the *delegators* of that power, and the *judges* of the mode in which that power is exercised? Who but the *people* banished James from a throne on which he was unworthy to be seated? Who but the *people* dictated to William the terms on which alone he should be King, and called the House of Brunswick—not to patronize corruption—not to establish a financial despotism—not to encourage and foster to maturity the seat-selling system—not to build glass stables—not to import Chinese dragons—not to establish and perpetuate a standing army—not to accuse the people of madness—but to *defend* the *rights* of the *people*, and to protect the CONSTITUTION OF THE REALM—*not the constitution as by law established*—but the *constitution* upon which the laws *were* established, guaranteed, and obeyed?

You, Sir, may perhaps smile, and observe that the *people*, if they are so competent to *judge*, and so powerful to *act*, had better have *protected their own rights*, and *defended their own liberties*, rather than have had recourse to the *possibility* of committing them to hands in which they might be neglected, or destroyed. Yet if one party from too much good nature, or too easy a disposition, make a *disadvantageous bargain for itself*, the party on whose side *the advantage* lies must forego all pretensions to honesty, if it do not remain satisfied with the *advantage given*, without seeking to encrease that advantage by unfair, ungenerous, treacherous, or ungrateful means. The *people* might perhaps, Sir, have been as competent to *defend* as to *obtain* their *rights;* but if they were generous enough to pay a King largely for *watching over them*, their credulity can with but little propriety be converted into an excuse for his ingratitude in *betraying* them. If, indeed, the people were so mistaken as to place them in the keeping of a consummate blockhead, they would have but themselves to censure for any mischief that might accrue. Yet that cur must be curst indeed, who cannot *bark* when a thief approaches, and at least *alarm* the family, if unable to protect the property entrusted to his care

If it could have been contemplated by men of common sense and common honesty that *any King* could have discovered *any means* of separating his *true interests* from the interests of the people, nations would, e'er this, have founded a seminary to teach their *royal riders* better logic. It was not rationally to be expected that *Kings* would improve as fast as their people: their situation in life always keeps them behind the people a century or two in knowledge. Not being compelled to think or act by necessity, they lose all the advantage of that best of tutors, experience. Beyond the kitchen and the dining-room their knowledge rarely extends. But there are, Sir, some few propositions that even a King of Spain might comprehend without much difficulty on the part of his tutors. Among these are the following:—

I. A king who is largely paid, well fed, excellently lodged, and gorgeously apparelled: who is attended with all imaginable pomp, and treated with a superfluity of affected veneration:—who is, notwithstanding, not *expected*

to do any thing right, and *not responsible for any thing he does wrong*, ought to consider that, as times and conditions go, *he is very well off*, and might not easily obtain a better place.

II. That such a king ought to feel as grateful to the immense mass of living misery that every where surrounds him, as the wretched beings who sweat and groan under their heavy burthens to support his indolence and luxury, ought to be to him for condescending so kindly to devour the fruits of their labour.

III. That a king so situated ought to be satisfied with his own happiness; and not permit his ministers or favourites to add any thing to the calamity that would be, in such a case, sufficiently severe.

And Fourthly, If he should be a king of uncommon capacity, he might comprehend the possibility of losing the advantages he possessed, if he were silly enough to encrease the disadvantages under which the people laboured.

The great mischief, Sir, is that *kings* are not satisfied with being *kings themselves*. *All their ministers must be kings too. All their favourites must be kings*, and all their mistresses, and the mistresses of their ministers and favourites must be queens. Now a nation might support one king without much complaint, even if he were extravagant and lascivious. For the appetite of *one man*, money and mistresses might be afforded; but for the appetites of so many, Mahomet could not supply houri, nor the mines of Peru gold and brilliants in sufficient abundance. No wonder then that England should sink, unable to comply with the demand. Here every boroughmonger is a king absolute, and can levy upon the treasury his yearly tribute to a greater amount than half a dozen German Princes can dragoon out of the pockets of their impoverished subjects. Every favourite and every minister has an electorate revenue at his disposal; every son of the thriving community has a pension or a place before he is born; and the wives and daughters of our insatiate system have pensions for pin and pocket-money from the period of their marriage, or their baptism, at the font or at the altar of corruption!

Is all this, Sir, as it *should be?* Granting that men of *royal birth* require, for the *splendour of rank* and the *dignity of greatness*, a considerable revenue from the *labour* of the *people*; by what *authority*, by what *right*, is a tribe of locusts selected from the *people*, to emulate princely *extravagance*, and beard even princes with their dissipation, by plundering the nation from the mass of which they have risen, fostered by a system which renders the most contemptible of vices the readiest passport to undeserved affluence, and unmerited distinctions.

Did you but *know* the MISERY that prevails, the INJUSTICE that prowls about under the garb of LAW, and the *effect* produced by the *robbery* which the borough taxation has *effected* of the *rights* of the people; it would be unnecessary to ask your interference on the behalf of your suffering subjects. You would instantly dismiss your ministers, or direct them to take immediate steps for the restoration of the liberties of the country. For you must feel ashamed of being the ruler of a country in which only lazy priests, crafty lawyers, seat-selling nobles, and imbecile ministers are the only prosperous orders.

What merit, Sir, is there in being the nominal king of a sordid and narrow minded aristocracy, not content with its own *privileges*, but assailing the rights of the people, and the prerogatives of the crown? What gratification to the sovereign can there be in an attempt, on the part of a minister, to degrade into slaves, and then to treat as brutes the subjects upon whom the monarch must depend for the supply of his revenue, and for the support of his crown? Should such an object be accomplished, it would defeat itself: for slaves and cowards can never produce prosperity, or evince courage. The wretch that is taught to bend beneath the frown of a master, will never dare to meet the eye of an enemy; and a state filled only with slaves will soon be erased from the list of nations.

The eyes of your country, the voice of your people is *again* turned towards you. Do not, Sir, *again* disappoint them. Remember what *they have done for you!!!* The follies of youth, the errors of manhood, have all been overlooked by them. They have been generous, truly generous, to *you*, and to *your family*. Nor do they now repent that generosity. They only desire that you *will listen to them*, and *not condemn them unheard*, at the SUGGESTION OF THEIR ENEMIES. The people entreat you to give them credit for being in perfect possession of *all* their *faculties:* and that you will dismiss from your confidence the wretches who dared to blaspheme heaven, and to insult earth, not less than to deceive you, when they dared to pronounce the PEOPLE, MAD!!! No, Sir! you will not, you cannot believe this horrid calumny! You must have spurned from your presence the being who could have so insulted your reason, by such an unauthorised and unwarranted falsehood. It was the ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE, Sir, who were MAD. Not indeed, that they had *lost their senses*—but lest they should lose their *profits*—their undeserved advantages, they were MAD. They were MAD that the *people* had recovered their public spirit—MAD that the *voice* of the *people* was again heard in the streets, and advancing even to the altar of corruption.

The *people*, sir, only want *fair play*. Give them but an opportunity of confronting *their enemies*, in the courts of law, in the cabinet, or in the legislature:—whenever they *can meet them*, they will be perfectly willing to abide by the decision of *right* and *justice*. *Force* is disclaimed by the *people*, and resorted to only by those who *call themselves* your *friends*. Arbitrary arrests, imprisonments without accusation, and the suspension of all known laws, are fit arms for the borough faction. By instinct they are taught to chuse weapons of a similar complexion with their cause. FORCE, in its varied shapes of chains, lashes, prisons, gibbets, and military murders, is the grand argument of all men conscious of having usurped that which does not belong to them. Another age, if the evil be not now checked, will see great Britain subjected to an *oligarchy* more *tyrannical*, and an *inquisition* more *cruel*, than have yet appeared as monsters in the political world. Step in between your country, and her fate. Vindicate the principles which your family *were seated* on the throne *to defend*. Mix with *the people*, who alone can uphold the throne. Throw down the barriers which an infamous system has placed between you and *your* people. Declare that "all are equal in your

sight:" that you will hear all complaints; that you will receive all petitions:—that you will cause the right of the people to state their grievances, to be respected; and that their petitions *shall be answered.* If they are improper to be granted, your advisers can readily point out such impropriety; and if they ought to be attended to, who is there among your pretended friends *daring* enough to refuse them such attention.

Come forth, sir from the *seclusion* in which no British Prince can be happy, or beloved. What delight can there exist in the trappings of a King, or the sumptuous banquet that is spread before him; while a people mourn in misery or murmur in disappointment? *Remember*, sir, again let me repeat it, *what has been done for you!* It was not *your ministers, your chaplains, your favorites, your mistresses*, or the borough faction, to *whom you appealed in your necessities.* It was to the PEOPLE, and *they answered the appeal.* Answer them then, in their calamities, *in person.* Speak to them;—hear them:—do no refer them to those who have *injured*, and therefore *hate* them. Exercise your own judgment:—and say, whether a taxation without limits, imposed by a representation of the interests of trading peers, and speculating commoners, at the suggestion of weak or designing ministers, is still to weigh agriculture to the ground, and furl the sail of commerce?—Say, sir, whether national degradation ought to encrease with national misery, and courtly profusion to keep pace with ministerial arrogance:—say, Sir, whether the evils that prey upon the vitals of the people are to be legislated for by standing armies to enforce arbitrary laws:—and the miserable are to be bayonetted into silence, or betrayed into the pains and penalties of the law, by villains who sow treason amongst the wretched, that they may reap the bloody harvest of their demoniac labours. Speak, Sir, and pronounce the nation's fate. Shall the spoilers be checked, before the despoiled are annihilated, or the frenzy of despair buries all distinctions in a common grave? YOUR hands sustain the scale. One word from YOU would burst the bonds asunder, and the fettered Englishman smile in surprise and pleasure to find himself emancipated from his worse than Egyptian bondage. One word from YOU would induce the borough-faction to throw themselves at your feet, and at the feet of the nation, for forgiveness. They would cease to talk of their *vested rights*, and their *legal purchases.* Content with what they have already so infamously gained, they would retire from their odious pursuits into some corner where the national vengeance would disdain to follow them. Occupied in the glorious task of renovating a sinking state, and purifying the constitution of our fathers, the PRINCE and the PEOPLE, divested of *misplaced suspicion*, and *undeserved mistrust*, would go hand in hand in the delightful task of repairing the past injuries of misrule, and preparing the resources of our country for the storms which it may be her future destiny to encounter.

P. S. Your Royal Highness may not be aware of the *general alarm* felt by the *cowards* who pretend to watch for the public safety. *If you were*, you, who are certainly a *brave man*, would hesitate to adopt the *suspicions* of your ministers, which are merely the result of their *fears*, and a modest consciousness of what *they deserve. Bartholomew Fair*, Sir, has *terrors* for your advisers; and they would have probably prevented its being held, under the bill for regulating *seditious* assemblies, had an *earlier intimation* of *their danger* been forwarded to them, by the wag who announced the *intended insurrection* on Saturday last. Every thing, Sir, was stated to be ready to give a *mortal* wound to the constitution "*as by law established*," by a combined force of *gingerbread Punches, wooden dolls*, and *pasteboard soldiers.* Two or three *Jack-in-the-boxes* were named as ring-leaders; and a *monkey*, escaped from Polito's collection, was suspected of having organized *the plot.* Your sage advisers, Sir, aware that in point of *intellect* the *conspirators of the Fair*, were nearly on a par with themselves, thought it as well *to take care*, lest the Bank, the Bridge, the Tower, and the River might be again endangered. Too much *confidence* has ruined many a cause. Your advisers *had none*, and therefore saved theirs. They knew that if the *wooden dolls* came in contact with the *blocks of the treasury*, that the petticoated playthings *might* have had the best of it. A regiment of soldiers was posted on Blackfriars Bridge, to arrest *Punch* and *Punchinello*, if they should sead their troop of *gingerbread rebels* that way. The prisons were doubly guarded:—the *Bank* and the *Tower* were equally well provided for a long defence:—the Lord Mayor, and his posse comitatus were ready for resistance—and, lo! the Punches, dolls, and pasteboard rebels never moved from their stalls! But, what of that? They *would*, no doubt, had they not been intimidated by the preparations made to defeat their seditious machinations! In future, however, Sir, it is rumoured, that the "*oath of allegiance*" to the constitution "*as established by law*," will be required to be taken by all and every imitation of men, women, and children, that are admitted into the fair; and the worthy magistrate who suspected the "*potatoes*" of treason, is to be appointed the political examiner of all the gingerbread, comfits, and sweetmeats, brought for sale among the loyal subjects of the borough faction.

MANCHESTER BLANKET MEETING.

It is impossible to avoid ridiculing the result of all the *ministerial fears*, and the madness with which they have furnished weapons for their own exposure. The poor men at Manchester who were represented as designing to wrap both Houses of Parliament, and the barracks at Knightsbridge, in their blankets, and throw them into the Thames, have all been acquitted. ACQUITTED!!! Did I say *acquitted?* Why, *they have not even been* TRIED! The ministers dared to accuse them of *treason* and *riot*, when the agents of those ministers *made all the riot* that existed:—and the treason was committed *against* and *not by these blanket men.* They were *guilty* of exercising *the right of petitioning;* when the soldiers surrounded them, and picked from the numbers whom they pleased, *without any resistance on the part of the people, although resistance would have been justified by the then existing laws.* The men thus *illegally* seized were imprisoned for months;

—they *courted a trial* to demonstrate the tyrannical manner in which they had been treated:—some bravely refused to *give bail*, although assured of never being called upon; believing that those who had done nothing wrong, or illegal, had only to stand before a British tribunal, to have their characters vindicated, and their wrongs redressed. Others were requested to *plead guilty*, and they would be discharged:—as if it were necessary to screen the *accusers* from the penalty of *false accusation*, and the detestation of the world. This was also *nobly resisted*. The *day of trial arrives*, and the PROSECUTOR DARE NOT PROCEED; but makes a *parade of his benevolence* in not *proceeding against men whom he had before punished by a long imprisonment*. If he had *any evidence* to offer against these men, it was *his duty* to have proceeded against them, for the sake of *public justice*. If he *had none*, he was bound in justice to the parties, to have so declared, that their characters might be restored to their proper estimation in society. The *paltry*, the *contemptible* means employed to prevent the trials which would have covered the prosecutors with disgrace, can only be explained by the knowledge of the accusers that they had proceeded against law, and that they could not substantiate the charges which they had wantonly preferred. Mr. Topping is reported to have said, that the "*Government did not wish to punish unnecessarily.*" The public will judge of this, by what it has attempted to do: and most people will be of opinion that in this case the cause of their not proceeding was a conviction that *they could not punish at all*. By all the rules of justice, these men possess a right of redress from those who have *imprisoned them* upon a *false accusation*, and *punished them without a crime*. The affected benevolence of *not trying them*, in order to save their accusers a merited exposure will be properly appreciated by all ranks: and it behoves a patriot prince to order these men a proper renumeration for the loss they have sustained, and the unmerited punishment they have undergone; as well as to mark by his strongest reprobation the men who dare thus prostitute the authority they derive from him, into the means of injustice to the people from whom he holds his own.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

BRETHERN in the Law, and
Co-heirs in the Constitution!

To which, give ye the preference,—to SLAVERY or to FREEDOM?

Is it your choice, that, *through real representatives*, YOU should make your own LAWS? Or is it your desire, to live under laws *made by boroughmongers?*

Is it your choice, that, *through real representatives*, YOU should impose and apportion your own TAXES? Or is it your desire, that those taxes should be *imposed and apportioned by Boroughmongers?*

What ye desire, that declare.

But there are impatient persons, who experiencing *taxation without Representation*, and *Petitions without Redress*, object to petitioning, as a *degradation*.

Be it, however, recollected, that to *sue* in a *court of law* to recover a *property*, is *not* to pray a *favour*, but to demand *justice*; and that to *petition Parliament* for *redress of a grievance*, is *not* to beg an *alms*, but to claim a *right*.

HOW LONG could a *court of law*, in defiance of law, absolutely refuse to a suitor, to do him justice, or to *try his cause?*

HOW LONG can *Parliament*, in defiance of the Constitution, absolutely refuse to the nation, to redress its greatest grievance, or to *take it into consideration?*

Ye children of impatience, wait awhile, and PERSEVERE IN PETITIONING. The day of redress approaches. Then shall ye subscribe to the truth of this maxim of your law, that "*Right is not without a remedy!*"

Equity, law, and common sense all proclaim, that, according to convenience, we may either *write*, or *print*, the petitions we *sign*. The *Lords* RECEIVE either. The *Crown* RECEIVES either. But a *House of Commons*, in the teeth of equity, law, common sense, and their own journals, REJECTED hundreds of our petitions for that house's REFORM, because forsooth those petitions were *printed!!*

And this *boroughmonger* experiment on our patience, has been thickly followed up by measures void of justice or sense, still more outrageous, and even BEYOND THE AUTHORITY OF PARLIAMENT TO ENACT.

Do then a few shameless empty-headed and violent men dream, that, because the rotten-boroughs are in their hands, the whole kingdom is theirs, and all men's property? Do they opine, that, by servilely saying "*Aye*," or corruptly saying "*No*," they can enslave MILLIONS!

Of all things hateful to a *boroughmonger*, his most violent antipathy is to a PETITION for REFORM. By the instinct of the animal, he knows it to be his *bane*.

Whereas, on the contrary, conscious that such PETITIONS are a sovereign antidote to the rotten-borough poison now raging in every vein of England's agonized body-politic, the true physician cannot administer them too copiously.

PETITIONS are the nation's VOICE. On this VOICE depends SALVATION. 'Tis this VOICE alone that hath power over the disease. 'Tis this alone can make us whole! When the nation shall stand up and cry with a loud voice,—"COME FORTH FROM THE GRAVE," the constitution shall assuredly rise again, even from the dead.

Provided PETITIONS be short, the writing will be little trouble. If we desire to be FREEMEN rather than SLAVES, shall we grudge a little trouble? Can freedom be deserved by men, too indolent for exhibiting their demand in writing—a task of two minutes?

By our matter being condensed, perhaps our style may be improved. Compelled to be concise, perhaps we may speak more to the point. There is but ONE POINT worthy our regard. To *that* point, let us inflexibly adhere! It embraces all we mean, when we speak of the constitution, the laws, or liberties of our country!

Boroughmongers have no taste for public meetings, or free discussion. *Their* relish is for despotic power in a placeman, to imprison at his sole will and pleasure whomsoever he please. *Their* favourite contemplation is, the gloom of a patriot's solitary dungeon, whence no complaint,

no petition, no remonstrance, no breathing of want, nor sigh of anguish can escape, to disturb their voluptuousness; nor the bolts of heavenly truth be hurled, to appal their guilty souls!

The well-paid blood-money myrmidons of the *boroughmongers* did, indeed, their utmost, in the way of *false-swearing*, to convict of treason, men, whom juries found innocent of the crime; and in the way of *false tales and treacherous persuasions*, to seduce the unwary sons of misery, sinking under their sufferings, into unlawful paths for obtaining a redress of their grievances.

The machinations, in short, of these satanical plotters, were twofold. Their first aim, was to associate together in the public mind, if possible, the discordant ideas of *reform* and *disaffection*: their second, to offer up to the mammon of their idolatory, a hecatomb of human victims. The more spotless, the more appropriate! By the terror of this bloody sacrifice, they hoped to perpetuate their accursed dominion.

But, by the goodness of Providence, and through the sterling virtue of our Juries, the counsels of the wicked came to nought. Into the pit they digged for others, themselves have fallen. They and their myrmidons, it is now manifest, are the real traitors who conspire to subvert the constitution.

In the Journals of the Commons on the 6th of May, 1793, it stands recorded, that petitioners tendered proof at the bar of the House, that a *majority* of the seats were even then usurped by *Boroughmongers*. Was not this, in true constitutional effect, a real charge of High Treason against the Usurpers, thus plunging a poniard into the very vitals of the State; which Lord Chancellor *Somers* and Chief Baron *Eyre* both pronounce, "THE GREATEST OF ALL TREASONS?"

From that day (now *four and twenty years ago*) to this, the House, so far from redressing the grievance, hath not yet taken it into consideration, although in the last session urgently importuned so to do by a million of applicants!

In the most authentic book* on the state of the representation, this treasonable usurpation is now stated to extend to *four hundred and eighty seven* of the seats, being more than *two-thirds* of the whole; while well-grounded suspicion carries it even further.

On the very division which proved the determination of the House to place us in our present situation, (no man having a particle of liberty, and the constitution taken away,) had all these members, whose pecuniary interests would have *disqualified them from being on an ordinary Jury*, been excluded from the vote, as they evidently ought to have been, then, instead of the bill having been carried by a corrupt influence, it would have been lost by a majority of SIXTY FIVE, and no single Secretary of State would now have the horrid *Algerine* power, of immuring whom he pleases in a dungeon.

With distinct evidence before the Public of the aforesaid *usurpation*, for the most part that of PEERS, in whom it is peculiarly criminal and disgusting, what can the pious *Lord Sidmouth* and the moral *Attorney-General* mean, by glewing up their eyes against seeing this monstrous mass of treason—this flaming wickedness in high places, while they send their scouts through the land to hunt for conspirators against the State in the lowly abodes of men, whom that rampant wickedness has provoked to a justifiable expression of discontent, for having first brought them into misery, and its perpetrators then contemptuously refusing them that justice which can only help them out, and afford them future protection!

And what kind of scouts were thus commissioned? Why, miscreants of recorded infamy; miscreants, who scattered treasons where they found none!—Be it, therefore repeated, that the *Boroughmongers* and their myrmidons, so far as yet discovered, are the only traitors who conspire to subvert the constitution!

Their treasons being as black as ink, as deadly as nightshade, and as notorious as the sun at noon, why, in God's name, begins not Mr. *Attorney-General* at the right end of his work! Does he not know that it is the nature of political reformation rather to descend, than to ascend?

Could these gross-minded wallowers in corruption,—could these profligate dolts, ignorant of any better mode of governing than that of brute force or more brutal cruelty, hope to extinguish an English constitution, without extirpating an English people?—What have these *Algerines* achieved?

For open, outward discussion, they have indeed caused deep inward thought and meditation. But, for a tranquilizing utterance of griefs, have they not generated a volcanic discontent at wrongs, equally intolerable and unutterable,—a discontent hourly gathering force by compression?

Under the rankest hypocrisy of pretence for preserving the constitution, have they not unmasked themselves, as its assassins, out-heroding herod, by exceeding the tyrant James in tyranny? If he were expelled from the throne, for "*suspending*" and "*dispensing*" with individual laws, have they not "*dispensed*" with all law, in annihilating at one sweep the constitution itself, and delegating to one of their creatures an absolute despotism?—What is the value of a permission to go to law, or to walk about, if held at the will of a tyrant, who at any moment, can hide me from the sight of men, save only a jailor!

Do we not at length clearly discover what the *Algerines* from the very first *intended* by their notable phrase—"the *constitution*, as by *law* established"—*first* engrafted into Acts of Parliament in 1795,* and *most ostentatiously* repeated in the indictment of *Watson* and others; for have we not now *despotism* "as by *law* established,"—strange as such language ought to sound in the ears of ENGLISHMEN?

But, before I take leave of the achievements of these *Algerines*, shall I not express my persuasion, that, for the *hundreds* of PETITIONS OF RIGHT, on which they trampled with unparalleled insolence, and a wickedness at which morality shudders, they are conjuring up and calling forth *thousands* and *tens of thousands*, for our deliverance from that deadly curse, which none but a devil could have invented—TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION?

By a Committee of the Hampden Club, the public have

* Oldfield's.

* The Gagging Acts.

been already apprized of the extraordinary Statute of the 13th of Charles II. c. 25.;—a statute which the *Borough-mongers* took care should not be repealed; that though it *slept*, it should not *die*. This statute inflicts "a penalty "of ONE HUNDRED POUNDS and THREE "MONTHS IMPRISONMENT WITHOUT BAIL," on every person who, "beyond the number of TWENTY," shall "sign a petition," for redress of any grievance, through "matters established by law in Church or State."

And the honourable the House of Commons, in contempt of right and decency, have told us, they *will not* receive our petitions, if *printed*. Here, then, if neither choosing to be slaves, nor to drop into the pitfalls of penalty-hunting informers, to be flayed alive, every *score* of petitioners must *write* the form they sign.

There will of course be *variety*, the absence of which was last session so much complained of; but yet, conciseness and comprehensiveness being most in request, the subjoined Form,† from the adoption it hath already experienced, bids fair to get into extensive use.

I had intended that this address should have been anonymous, and had actually put to it a fictitious signature; but this being no time for the friends of constitutional freedom to shrink from an avowal of their sentiments, I now subscribe myself your faithful servant,

JOHN CARTWRIGHT.

9th September, 1817.

† THE FORM

To the Hon. the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament Assembled.

The Petition of the Undersigned Inhabitants of

Defective Representation being the Nation's Bane;

We pray that all male subjects, (infants, insanes, and criminals excepted) may equally share in annually electing Representatives, to serve in Parliament.

(Signed)

Mode of attacking the Borough-mongers effectually.

Cheapside, 4th Sept. 1817.

SIR,

That the *sons* and *daughters* of corruption, whom Cobbett has so seasonably suspended in his last Register, for receiving as *state paupers* the *pounds* of the treasury, will affect to ridicule my scheme of decimal fractions for the concentration of shillings and *pence* in a true *provident bank* for the salvation of liberty, is a consequence not less natural than the contempt with which the *owls of despotism* pretended to hoot at the *vigintal* mode of petition by the Hampden Club. The science of geometry owes much to the sublime discovery of a *Scottish peer*, and British slaves should now hope that the *nobler* cause of *freedom* will yet be equally indebted to an *English commoner's* judicious application of certain political logarithms in behalf of reform; for what are all the boasted *arts and sciences* when liberty is gone, but the *gilded rivets* of a *nation's chains!* *A penny* individually is an *humble coin*, though in the *aggregate* it soon amounts to *nobles*, *sovereigns*, and *imperial pieces* of still greater value; all applicable, when properly disposed, to the most beneficial purposes, in the creation of banks, bibles, boxing matches, or even pedestrian exploits, whether set agoing by *pound* or *pence* subscriptions origically; as these last alone must specially, by a decimal process of multiplication, constitute rather a *saving* than a *sinking fund*. If the poor have hitherto been cajoled to sustain this bubble affoat a little longer, by the old conjurer George Rose and his wonder working dupes in and out of the great house, besides paying their weekly mites to religious associations, we may surely trust even to them for the contribution of *one pinch of snuff* per month, for the recovery of a birthright, that will preserve them effectually in future from those very taxes which drain the labourer's purse *directly* and *indirectly* of ten shillings in the pound, to support *sinecure founders* of *provident banks* in luxury and extravagance!—This is indeed a *caricature of providence* with a vengeance, it and cannot fail to make the blind to see and the deaf to hear, long before it can enjoy the divine felicity of filling one hungry belly in the whole kingdom. To rob a starving manufacturer of one half his hard earnings, under the most infamous pretences and financial impositions, and to evince, at the same moment, a hypocritical care for the wretch's penury in old age, by compelling him to practise a hopeless economy in the mean time, appears to me exactly on a par with that *ruffian's treason* who betrayed his master *with a kiss*. The cunning knaves who patronise *saving banks* are by no means so numerous as the *silly fools* or "good easy men," who have given currency to the deception; nor is it every one who can detect, *prima facie*, this sanctified *trap door* to the yawning gulph of the *Pitt system*, which sooner or later will confound the hamlet and the palace in promiscuous ruin; unless indeed the humble tenant of the cottage forthwith acquire sagacity from those *lower animals* who instinctively shun that dwelling, which fate has *doomed to destruction*. A proper designation for the *driblets* of misery has long been wanting; the words *saving*, *savings*, *provident*, and economical, with many others, have severally had their advocates, but the most appropriate term, in my opinion, would be *sinking banks*; since the swinish multitude are to have the honour, in this way, of becoming a broad-shouldered *Atlas* of the *rising stock* on the *sinking fund*; the truly *notable* project for converting *a large government debt*, incurred solely by *popular misrepresentatives* into a permanent *national incumbrance*. Methinks I hear *a sly serpent* from *The Day* or *Courier* of the real *apostate* species vituperate every idea of a *penny donation*, such as I have suggested, with a *sanctimonious whine* of pity for the contributing wretches, or a denunciation of *ministerial vengeance* against the trifling *vigintism* in this form. Unfortunately for those dastardly *vipers* the recent *plot explosions*, in the three kingdoms, have made them somewhat *crest fallen*, and our *state empiricks* have thus contrived to expose their own toothless seducers to derision, having now no teeth left to chew, though still cursed with an innate propensity to bite. Honest John Bull himself begins to perceive the *despicable cant*, which holds out compassion for a pauper parting with *a quid of tobacco* to redeem his liberty, while it is well known, that the *taxman* drags *the bed* from beneath *their victims* to make good the *last farthing*, due at the end of the year to the Exchequer; whence many pensioners, placemen, sinecurists, and a flight of *locusts from rotten boroughs*, draw their wages of iniquity, for which they sell soul, body, and country altogether, to the devil, on the altar of mammon. In the united empire there cannot be at present less than *four millions of vassals* from whom the minute contribution in question may be easily collected by *decimal divisions* and subdivisions, embracing *society at large*, in concentric circles of *congenial bodies*, all inspired with the irresistible desire of sacrificing the *fraction* of *one shilling* and ten minutes time to complete redemption from fiscal thraldom. To men thus placed the conversion of copper change to silver, gold, or bank-notes, and its subsequent remittance by *trusty hands* to a common centre, will prove a task of little difficulty and *no expence*, because every one in *a brotherhood* of *ten* may become the *fulcrum* or *pivot* to ten tens, thousands, and *tens of thousands*, *ad infinitum*, in a *constitutional crusade* against all tyrannies; an *infernal despotism*, in the imposing garb of freedom; not unlike the condition to which *republican Rome* was gradually reduced by a venal senate, and an *imperial consul*, long before the Cæsars entirely withdrew those *sacred veils*, which conceal *their absolute power* from the eyes of their *degraded people*. *That era*, as well as *this*, was remarkable for the rank which recreant bards, players, buffoons, fiddlers, dancers, singers, and similar characters held in society; to say nothing of the high estimation which the *macaronis*, marplots, &c. in those days enjoyed at court, for many successive centuries. How Britons may escape the same *diabolical yoke* is a fact made evident to the meanest capacity; and unless they determine upon *passive submission* to boroughmonger servitude, they have only to *renovate* their ancient *liberties* by the *omnipotence* of the public voice and feelings, expressed in *millions* of petitions and *pence* in support of them, to defray the charges which must be incurred before the whole scheme of *radical reform* can be fairly submitted to the deliberate judgment of ALL CONCERNED in the success of national *emancipation*. The new view of society has already been tried in the balance, and found wanting in some vital parts for the happiness and welfare of rational beings; let the old prospect of English law, therefore, duly circumscribed by *constitutional principles*, in its turn, have fair play also, and the reformers must stand or fall by such an appeal to their countrymen, who can hardly grudge *one penny a piece* for the experiment, whereon in all human probability their future freedom or slavery for ever will depend. To men who see no charms in *rational liberty*, and acknowledge no other divinity than money, I would earnestly address myself with a preventative specific for the *life-blood sucking income tax* in the *vigintal* petitions and *decimal* contributions, which are the only infallible antidote to unsupportable taxation by promoting an *efficient reform* of those abuses whence *our enormous debt* and expenditure have entirely arisen.

The experiment may be made with *perfect personal safety* and real public advantage by the most timid and selfish of mankind, as no names are published, no meetings called, no president, chairman, deputies, treasurers, secretaries or even clerks of accounts are required, and last

not least, orators must confine themselves to the best part of a speech—*action*, in silent concert with decimal *fractions*, (in lieu of *factions*) in any given community, whence the whole *sound part* of the nation may simultaneously pray for redress of wrongs, and offer individually a small oblation for the constitutional recovery of a birthright, long usurped by its own attorneys. Those *spurious Englishmen*, who have hitherto in *imitation of Esau* sold this inestimable inheritance for a mess of pottage should learn at last, that so far from gaining by this sordid barter on earth, they are losers at the end of seven years to a much large amount, than the *debasing bribe*, received from a *satanic deceiver*, who buys of course to sell again at *thousands per cent of profit*. A person having an early income, by labour of any species, to the extent of *thirty* pounds, who pockets a bribe of *ten*, is just *minus septennially* by *ninety-five pounds* because half his earnings are swallowed up by *direct and indirect impositions*, which, with a freely elected House of Commons, would merit another name, and would hardly be one third of the present sum. No creature can be so stupid as to deny that *venality on one side* is a very bad commercial concern, and both parties must admit, that if they look with the saints, to heaven and hell in prospective, no *speculation* can well be more damnable than the infamous *traffic in votes and seats* acknowledged *by the sinners themselves* to be glaring as the *noonday sun;* while the blind almost may see, that this *notorious practice* is as opposite to the light shining on the world from the *Sun of Righteousness* as *Zenith* and Nadir, being in fact the *original source* in this country of *perjuries, murders, extortions, iniquity* of the deepest die, and a long catalogue of the most detestable crimes, both in high and low places, by incarnate devils from C. E. and M. to R— — —d and Reynolds; the most *notable braces* in the whole *pack of blood hounds*. The Day and Times, some weeks ago, thought proper *to gibbet* in their *immaculate columns*, two *republican* criminals, executed in America for *murder*, which demons alone in the shape of men, could have committed. This exhibition the pure Tories of the Bourbon breed very complacently held up *in terrorem* against *democracy*, as the fountain whence such offences naturally flow; at the very period too, when the *royalist prints* were literally *crammed* with *capital punishments* for violations of law, equally *atrocious* by honest *John Bull and Saint John Church*, in the proportion *often* to *one* at least of brother Jonathan's offences; no bad proof of how far Governments are the *true causes* of good or evil among their subjects, to those who will not shut all their senses against conviction. The British Press has just represented a *Columbian scene* not less *instructive*, in a case of *fratricide*, where the Sheriff was forced *in propria persona* to officiate for *Jack Catch*, no *such villain* being procurable among ten thousand *freemen*, to stoop that low even to punish so *horrible a crime*. What a humiliating contrast, in various points of view, does this solitary instance present to the reflecting mind, which while shuddering at the duty that devolved upon a *worthy magistrate*, cannot help admiring the spirit of genuine liberty which inspires every body in America with too much *dignity* and *pride* to play *the hangman*, till forced by inevitable *ex officio* necessity. Had many thousand spectators assembled in England under such circumstances, some dozens of starving paupers would have become *volunteer Charons* for a *trifling hire*, leaving to the public officer the more lucrative post of *Cerberus* to himself, without the smallest shame or remorse. So much for the *labouring classes* of society in a *vast republic* and still *greater monarchy*. Let us now look up to *their superiors*, under the two opposite forms of Government; and there again, we behold able laymen, willing to act as magistrates in every district of the United States; while here, the Aristocrats are generally speaking, so ignorant, lazy, or debauched, that the magisterial functions are often discharged by *Parsons* as the only *qualified men* to be found; one grand reason no doubt, why English Priests are seated on *benches* not quite so becoming their *pious labours*, as the *pulpit*, though probably *more productive* from the holy zeal which they shew for their sovereign's service below instead of their God's glory on high. Were we as much at a loss for *finishers of the law*, as the Americans occasionally are, the Clergy are so *truly loyal*, that I have a strong belief not a few would cheerfully consent to launch both *body and soul* into eternity, with *peculiar grace* and infinite benefit to the patient, thus in the safe hands of a *spiritual* and *corporeal physician*, united in one *divine personage;* to say nothing of his *trinitarian* faculty as *law doctor*. Here would be economy and retrenchment most worthy of imitation from the top to the bottom, and any jack ass in office, might flourish "a jack of all trades" with profit to himself, honour to his country and an immense saving of her pecuniary resources. Bentham has held up *Columbia* as a mirror to *borough-mongers* and their *gulls:* let me also request the *humane Owen* to take *one peep* at *this page*, before he finally resolves to *commence* reformation at the *wrong end*. I observe the continental christians from the slavish fear of displeasing temporal potentates, have determined to renounce for ever the reproachful epithet *Protestants*, lest it should preserve some flaming reminiscences of reformation, revolution, persecution, and Inquisition among persons now very averse to think of such *monstra horrenda* on any terms. Englishmen may conscientiously leave puritans of the job school to their own meditations, when they cast off the garments of Religious Liberty, very opportunely for free Britons to cloathe themselves in those hard times, even with a *thread bare coat* of such hypocrites, by assuming the unfashionable name of civil Protestants against despotism, tyrannic leagues, mercenary legions, and pretorian bands, wherever these monsters appear to dragoon mankind into brute beasts, that regal butchers or ravenous pastors may devour the misrepresented dumb flock with impunity in every land.

Mr. Vansittart's financial lucubrations just published in Dublin must demonstrate to the British people, that the property tax is inevitable. Let them therefore instantly commence petitions against it, before the door even opens for the discussion of so hateful a theme—let fervent prayers for reform rend the skies in every direction; nay let Englishmen protest in plain terms and tell the vile corruptionists "they will remain no longer their dupes" and the bubble will indeed burst as harmless, as those formed of soap from a school boy's blow pipe, because a universal breath from the legal constituent body is the only impetus required, to send the system quietly after the great pilot * who commenced, but left the small fry behind, to weather the storm "on full blown bladders in a sea of glory" but far beyond their depth; "the dark green bag on airy castles hung," has left them, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, "to gain the shore as well as gudgeons † can."

When the plan of universal suffrage by Ballot is fully delineated, it will be found to embrace every man of the United Kingdom not disqualified by nonage, insanity, or crime; consequently neither the exciseman nor the brave defender of his native home by sea or land will be excluded, as every one of the commons has an undoubted claim to return his own representative, and this can be done, without the smallest risk of becoming *a marked man*, in any subordinate situation in the state or in society at large—The hero who nobly fights the battles of his countrymen in time of war is fully entitled to enjoy every civil priviledge during a period of peace, in the exercise of the elective franchise in a free country, which knows no such degraded being as a political villain, unqualified to choose a representative until the laws have positively reduced him to that servile condition, for the commission of some henious offence against them.

Some *wiseacres* may apprehend that the gallant soldiers or sailors would so far lose sight of their *birth-right* as freemen, that they would pawn it without any pledge to their military superiors, whether they were worthy of such confidence in a civil capacity or not, but this objection is more plausible than solid. A *humane* good *officer* is *so far* entitled to the support of those who have been placed under *his command*, and *he* is not *the man* most prone, as a Member of Parliament properly constituted, to sell or *betray* his constituents. Both sea and land monsters of oppression would, by universal suffrage have *no chance of representing any body*, and this alone would prevent such military tortures in either service as have hitherto disgraced the annals of England. The *poor wretch* who lately received 650 lashes at the Tower for *a misdeameanour*, would be the last man in the world to *vote* for his colonel afterwards under *any guise*, should he ever require the common soldiers' *free vote* to act as *his attorney*, in whose hands life, liberty, character, were to be confided for *one year* only.

To Englishmen I repeat the words petition! petition! petition! General prayers cannot fail to redeem you from the fire of unmerciful usurpation, without the necessity of following the manly example set by our ancestors at the glorious revolution and in the less memorable reformation; which was effected by *protestants* more worthy of the honourable appellation than their ignoble descendants, and who thus gained the meed of liberty in spite of the Pope, the devil, and the Pretender, then leagued, as at present, to make Britons vassals. In short, my brave countrymen, be *protestants* with all your heart, with all your strength, and with all your might; and believe me, Englishmen cannot long pray and protest in vain against any power not perfectly *omnipotent*. I remain, Sir, yours,

AMICUS.

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* The shark is alway attended by a species of flats or mullets that prey upon him like vermin, though termed ignorantly by the sailors pilot fish, from a mistaken notion that the finny imps point out his prey, while in fact they suck the sea-tiger's own blood.

† Used as bait, either of the apostate sort like Oliver, or his state Leviathans in their turn.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We entreat the patience of a great number of communications whose favors will be made use of on the most appropriate occasions.

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